684 It is not extraordinary to hear that a wronged husband has taken justice into his own hands, especially if the culprits were caught in flagrante delicto. As for unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), in the Bugoyi 684 they were abandoned on the islands of Lake Kivu where they died of 848 starvation. The small, rocky, and completely arid islands of Ntera, Kapfunuka, and Itembabagoyi were renowned on this account, along with the larger but deserted islands known by the name of Bugarura, Wawu, etc. In the Nduga and other provinces bordering the Akanyaru, the girls were inexorably hunted out by the chiefs, who had them drowned in the river. They were thrown in with their hands and feet tied, and if they did not sink below the water right away, they were knocked on the head with oars and clubs, under the eyes of the populace who had come to witness their torture. There is a river dweller who is in charge of the execution of those unfortunate victims and who tells cold-bloodedly of the drownings he has carried out. If one is to believe him, a dozen victims have passed through his hands. It is said that a grandfather acted as his own granddaughter's executioner to avoid persecution by the chiefs, who take advantage of /53/ the opportunity to pillage the home of the wrongdoer's relatives. Occasionally, families succeeded in ransoming their child by giving a cow to the local authorities, but obviously such recourse was not available to everyone. Even in this case the newborn child was pitilessly killed at birth. Sometimes the culprit could also be made to escape in time to Urundi, the Ndorwa, or the Congo. The motive alleged for such severity is fear of the punishment that would not fail to befall the country if such crimes were allowed.

Let us add that we are speaking of the past, and that today it 181 would be very difficult to dispose of the criminals without the knowledge of the Europeans. Crimes of this kind, moreover, were relatively rare. The Banyarwanda are indeed superior by far to neighboring peoples as far as morality is concerned. It is of little moment that this should be attributed to the altitude of the country, which reaches an average of 1, 700 or 1, 800 meters, or to their working habits, both of which facts are incidentally quite true.

[152 In any event the women are very shy. So are the nubile girls, 862] who are closely watched by their mothers.

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Role	Term of address	Term of reference
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1942, pp. 11-16.

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fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favourite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these